2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699–700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it.... There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

614 3,500 people who inhabit sixteen villages scattered across the plateau. Though they should only marry with Ha:ruvas or (162) Kaṇakkas, in the past eighty years a few Adikiri people have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore villages. It is rare on the other hand for a girl to go from the Nilgiris to Mysore in marriage. There have also been a few irregular cases of vegetarian Adikiris marrying meat-eating Gaudas (but never meat-eating Adikiris).

(621) The Adikiri villages come closer to being a corporate group than any of the other clans, except for the two tiny phratries of Kumba:ras and Be:das. This solidarity stems from the fact that Adikiris, alone of all the clans, hold an 'annual reunion'. Every (796) November they go to the village of Nellitore, on the Coimbatore Plain, to worship at the place where a Lingayat saint was drowned. It was from this point that the original six Adikiris started up into the Nilgiris.[14] Today it is obligatory for at least a few men from each Adikiri village to attend the annual function, to which members of other Badaga clans are also welcome.

(771) Despite this demonstration of Adikiri solidarity there have been several defections from the clan and its Lingayat values. In one village (Sakkata) Adikiris married with Toreas a few generations ago and now are treated as Toreas although sometimes called Adikiris. In one other Gauda village (So:lu:ru) Adikiris have intermarried with meat-eating Gaudas. In both these situations the soi-disant Adikiris are no longer vegetarians or Lingayats (Metz, 1864, 50–51). The three other meat-eating Adikiri villages do not dine with Toreas, but they may take a meal in the inner room of a Gauda house. In two villages of vegetarian Adikiris the *liṅga* is not worn, but the inhabitants retain the name and status of Adikiris and belong to the same clan, though they are not considered Lingayat.[15]

614 Adikiris and Kanakkas eat only in the houses of Wodeas, 264 Ha:ruvas and Koṅgaru, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes. Adikiris, like Kaṇakkas, admit Ha:ruvas, Kaggusis and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals (though Wodeas refuse to eat with them). Meat-eating Adikiris, Gaudas and Toreas, as well as Todas, may only eat in the outer room, while other Nilgiri tribesmen may not enter the house at all.

KAṆAKKAS

614 There are perhaps three thousand Kaṇakkas. Although now (162)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

attendance coinciding with the conversion and the take-over of some government schools by the Basel Mission. Crops partially destroyed through drought; blamed by Badagas on a curse from the Christian preachers, and by the missionaries on Badaga idolatry.

1859 Continuing drought. By now, ten mission schools opened.

1863 Legislation to stop private parties clearing land to farm in reserved forests. Famine and some migration of Badagas away from their native villages; this was blamed on the missionaries, who were preaching that Christ was responsible for all that happens. The continuing conversions usually attributed by Badagas to sorcery; very low school attendance. Further government order prohibiting the annual fire-walking ceremony.

1864 A Badaga 'oracle' when questioned by villagers indicated the 'English god' was dangerous and evil-intentioned. Consecration of protestant chapel at Ne:rikambe.

1864-1884 Land Settlement; registration of all land holdings and the real end to swidden farming.

1865 Some headmen pulled down their temples and built new but bigger ones, for the first time in brick. Famine on the Nilgiris; drought blamed by Badagas on their gods losing power. A promise reportedly made by the god Irabattaraya to come to the plateau to cure the sick and destroy the missionaries; many disappointed that he did not come.

1873 A Badaga near Wellington became a deathbed convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

1875 Massacre of eighteen Kurumbas by Badagas armed with axes; this in retaliation for a fever among the Badagas.

1876 Monsoons failed; cholera epidemic among Badagas.

1877 Smallpox and cholera epidemics and dysentery on the Nilgiris and famine throughout South India; grain prices double the usual; heavy immigration of starving unemployed people from plains near the Nilgiris; among Badagas much loss of faith in the efficacy of Hindu rituals, and some conversions.

1880 By now 183 Badagas converted to Lutheranism since 1858, and the process continuing slowly; ostracism and physical fighting still associated with each conversion.

1882 Madras Forest Act: defined forest boundaries and further restricted the cutting of timber. Family of a Kurumba

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

nicknamed 'three-quarters God', lost face through declining an invitation to prove the superiority of his religion by walking across the fire.[4]

As another missionary recalled:

> The proclamation of the Gospel, which was repeated again and again in every village with scarcely any exception, met with an increasing opposition, till at last it became a great trial of faith and patience to go on preaching to the same well known and apparently hopeless generation. From the proverbially timid Badaga we even heard expressions like these:—'You have ruined our country, why do you come to us?—stay at home!' (Mörike, 1858, 96).

Apparently the missionaries capitalized on the misfortunes that struck at the Badaga community: on one occasion of drought (in 1859), the missionaries blamed the disaster on the continuing worship of idols; on another occasion Metz reported:

> The famine may have helped to awaken in many a fear of the wrath of God.... Especially one day, after four Badagas had been burned in one house... people were eager to hear the Word and ask questions about it, so that it was quite refreshing to me (B.E.M.S., 1866, no. 27, 78–79).

In 1855 missionaries prompted the government to issue a ban on Badaga fire-walking. The move back-fired, however, for a village had burnt down at about the same time, and this was considered a manifestation of the Badaga deity's wrath (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39).

The mission schools were another important means of evangelizing. A school had been founded at Ke:ti in 1845, and by 1859 nine others were in operation. At first Badaga parents in the neighbouring villages were given one anna a day (½ cent U.S.) as inducement to send their unconverted children there rather than have them work in the fields. The schools were intended to create a favourable impression among the Hindus, but the missionaries recorded that the frequent changes of schoolmasters, their indifference to teaching, their loose morals and the periodic closure of the schools led to a halting literacy but scarcely any conversions.[5] A permanent

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

In general we may say that Badagas found Christianity of some relevance to them only when they could treat it as an aspect of their own Hindu religion. The manner in which the spiritual message of Christianity was presented led to some wild misunderstandings of what Christianity stood for. Badagas could not comprehend why anyone should want to be converted. They asked Metz (1864, 138) if the new converts '... would soon mount horses and ride about like Europeans, and whether they had got plenty of money by the change?' Clearly some Badagas were viewing conversion as a process of social mobility whereby one should adopt the behaviour patterns of Europeans and abandon those of Badagas; and in this they were not altogether mistaken.

Hindu Reformers

The European missionaries were not the only ones to assume an aggressive posture in the conversion arena. The actions of these aliens prompted a counter-movement of Hindu proselytizing, using evangelistic methods to make the Badagas (and other communities) more orthodox Hindus. These Brahminic missionaries belonged to the Hindu Tractate Group of Madras City, and they visited a number of Badaga villages to distribute pamphlets and set up their own short-lived schools (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41; Eppler, 1900, 306).

A Hindu reform movement that developed without any aid from outside emerged in the village of Edapalli in 1892. There the young Badaga men formed an organization called the Society of Virtuous People (or *Yedapullu Sajjana Sangha*; B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78). Among various proposals they advocated cleanliness of body and home, an end to tattooing, education for girls, cessation of lavish spending and of dancing to music at the funerals, stopping the use of drugs and intoxicants, and general adoption of monogamy (except that if one wife proved barren a second wife could be taken but the first should remain with the husband). The account of this society shows it aimed to put right the various 'evils' of Badaga life that Europeans had for so long been condemning. (One automatically thinks of the close parallel between this organization and the Arya Samaj in North India, also active in the last decades of the nineteenth century.) It is worth noting that, while nothing further is heard of the Society of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Virtuous People, the village of Eḍapaḷḷi became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Eḍapaḷḷi seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

10

Religious and Social Change in the Twentieth Century

We have seen how some aspects of Badaga culture have undergone significant change, how the economy was monetized, how national systems of law and administration were adopted by Badagas and how a Christian community became a persisting feature of the social organization. We now examine what other religious changes have come about, what has happened to the Christians and how the society has adjusted to new patterns of communication, marriage and residence during the present century.

The process of modernization has brought about some changes in Badaga religion. Temples may nowadays have electric lighting, for example, although strictly electrical cable is a polluting material as it is covered with rubber, which conservative Badagas consider to be 'like leather'. Polluting anthropologists and other strangers, including government dignitaries, are now conducted into some of the temples. Another change has come with the new value placed on time: ceremonies that used to last for three days are now finished in one, those that ran for a week now last for only three days; and in general there is a short-cutting of the inessential elements of ritual. Some ceremonies show signs of dying out, so irrelevant have they become. The annual festival for Be:da Sa:mi ('Lord of the Hunt') is now rarely performed. The aid of this god was sought to protect the villagers and their fields from tigers and other wild animals (Metz, 1864, 67-68; Francis, 1908, 339-340; Emeneau, 1971, 5, 42, 564, 744); but today, with the increase in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 population, illegal hunting and poisoning of carnivors, and the
771 great extension in the area of tea estates, predatory tigers and
[796] other large animals have become so rare on the plateau that there seems little need to propitiate Be:da Sa:mi.

177 Lingayats, over the past century at least, have taken up the
771 worship of gods other than Shiva. The non-Lingayat Badagas
776 have also adopted new gods, mostly Sanskritic deities related to Shiva, such as his sons Gaṇapati and Subramaṇia, and also Aiyappan. A parochialization of the great Hindu tradition is evinced in the temple established at Tu:raṭṭi for a stone brought there from Benares, or the silver image of Subramaṇia brought to a Ka:ṭe:ri temple from Benares, or the 'footprint of Ra:ma' on a rock at Mañjakombe.

BAJAN AND KRISHNA WORSHIP

178 These styles of worship are new to the Badagas, who are Shaivites
795 (Krishna and Ra:ma are Vaishnavite deities) (Karl, 1945, 5). The performance of *bajan* (group hymns) began amongst them some
[533] thirty years ago, and so popular has it become that nearly every
[534] village has one or more sets of *bajan* instruments and holds a weekly performance of the sacred songs. These are hymns mostly in praise of the Lord Krishna; they are played on the instruments of Tamilnad, not of the Nilgiris, and the words are Tamil, not
[346] Badagu. Many villages have built a *bajan* house specifically for these devotional evenings; it is owned by the village in common
[353] and is considered a kind of temple. Inside are lithographic prints of Krishna and other gods and perhaps an image to which *pu:ja* is performed during the course of the devotions. Once a year donations are solicited from every household in the village for support of the *bajan* singing group. Not every villager is interested in this form of worship, but its popularity is clearly increasing, especially among the youths who regard it as a modern, urban form of worship. The rising interest in *bajan* has been noted elsewhere in South India (Singer, 1959, 148–149).

TAMILIAN AND KANARESE CELEBRATIONS

177 Heavy immigration to the hills, together with greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east, especially

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

the houses. On that occasion some Badagas also do *pu:ja* to bring blessings upon agricultural implements and even school books.

Ka:rttige is followed by the month of Ma:rgaźi (December–January), the most inauspicious month of the Dravidian calendar. Some Badagas have now adopted the Tamilian practice of daily *pu:ja* throughout the month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every village street singing *bajan* songs about Shiva and Vishnu. Before this daily tour the women clean the houses, put auspicious markings on the ground outside their doorways and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the *bajan* group has passed by. The many villages which have adopted this ritual conclude the unlucky month with a big communal feast.

In short, we find that there is some local variation in the form taken by the borrowed memorial ceremonies and festivals. They are not celebrated by all Badagas and those who do so show less enthusiasm for them than for native Badaga festivals. Furthermore, Badagas are much less enthusiastic about them than are the Tamilians and Kanarese now living in the Nilgiris.

GROWTH OF LINGAYAT TIES WITH MYSORE

Before the twentieth century those Badagas who were Lingayats were mostly illiterate and knew little about their religion as it was practised in the Mysore homeland. Perhaps once or twice a year a Lingayat *guru* would wander up into the Nilgiris from nearby Aṅgala or Nanjangud, selling *liṅgas* and performing family ceremonies (Harkness, 1832, 137); whatever he taught about the Lingayat faith would have been transmitted by word of mouth. In this century, in contrast, Badaga Lingayats are literate, and some are avid readers of books on Lingayat philosophy. Cheap bus transport has also enabled them to visit the Nanjangud temple and other places of pilgrimage easily and so to meet well-informed monks and priests in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been a number of marriages between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeas have taken this step. However, the move for marital ties with Mysoṛe has not found ready acceptance among most Badaga Lingayats, even though Kanarese brides usually bring a substantial dowry with them. For several decades this matter has been the subject

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

Great House precedes everyone else and afterwards announces for the benefit of others that he has completed his duty. Only after the water has been poured into his cattle pen may anyone go beyond the hamlet boundaries.

During the rest of the day, however, no one may do any outdoor work, not even something as trivial as picking up firewood. The permitted exceptions to this rule are that people may wash themselves and their clothes, and that the men may clean out their cattle sheds and prepare bedding for the cattle. Until recently a heavy fine was levied on anyone trying to do other kinds of work on this day.

This ceremony is generally considered by the Badagas to be one of the most important, or as some put it, "most sacred," in the entire calendar of festivals. That it should be so may seem surprising, in view of the unimportant role that cattle now play in the economy of this culture. We might expect that festivals celebrated at times of sowing or harvest would be the most significant for an agricultural community such as the Badagas. Yet the giving of salt is widely held to be quite as crucial as either the sowing or the harvest festival.

What, then, is it about giving salt to cattle that makes this event so essential to the festival calendar of this particular society? My answer would be that in the course of this ceremony a symbolic reference is made to all the roots of social stability and all the sources of the good life. Every society needs certain occasions when the bases of its organization and the ideals by which it lives are made visible to the members of that society. In this respect the Badagas are in no way unusual; the salt-giving is in fact a time when the whole community is busily engaged in acting out various roles which make the foundations of social life apparent to its members. Values which guide the community are thus paraded in the ceremony, a display which helps preserve them from doubt and obscurement.

A person's requirements for attaining the good life are summarized in the prayer which is spoken beside the stream. Here reference is made to maintaining long-established traditions, to having a plentiful harvest, to a superfluity of milk, and to the birth of many calves and children. The final line, "Let everything be good!" underlines the intent of the whole ceremony.

The Badagas themselves do everything possible on this occasion to ensure that things will in reality become "good" for them. They show due deference at every point to the living representative of their hamlet's founding family, who built the Great House and so started their community. They reward the Todas for their friendship and services. They pay brief respect to Ganga, the goddess who is represented in all streams and who controls rainfall. They pay respect to the sun, source of all light, by facing it before they stoop beside the stream. They show gratitude to the cattle, which are an important source of food and were formerly the indispensable laborers of every farmer. They ceremoniously gather specimens of two useful wild plants. Their route takes them to what have traditionally been the most sacred places in every Badaga hamlet: the Great House, the village green,

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

128 curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

182 Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

101 1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered
161 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost en-
131 tirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great
241 majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until
[433] the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two
(233) regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

361 Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of
368 the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods.
771 Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

000 when they have been blessed with a son.

842 3.18. We have pointed out above (3.16) that Badagas have some idea of a "safe period" at the end of the menstrual cycle, and they also believe the middle of the cycle is when conception occurs. Beyond
842 this, however, there was no idea of contraception until public health
168 officials recently began the family planning campaign. This advice, given out by government officials, for years fell on deaf ears because it was addressed to the men of the community. When I asked 420 Badaga adults of both sexes, in 1963, whether some form of birth control should be encouraged to improve village life, not a single person said Yes. In the late 1960s however the programme began to be more effective because illiterate old Badaga women pointed out to younger women the benefits of having fewer children. Intra-uterine devices seem to be the method most women favour; but some men have submitted to vasectomies, and women have sometimes been sterilized after a difficult delivery in hospital. I am unaware of any distribution of government-supplied contraceptives to Badaga men except during a very brief campaign nearly 20 years ago. Men are however encouraged to have vasectomies with the offer of free transportation to the hospital, 60 rupees, and a transistor radio. K. Sithamma said she disapproved of this programme because if a man's children should die once he has been sterilized he cannot
842 have any more. In her view the only proper way to restrict births is to stop having coitus until another child is wanted; abstinence was seemingly often counselled to the poor. Whether a woman gets preg-
•(771) nant or remains barren is the will of God, and because a pregnancy is his gift abortion would be a sin. "You should build the house; God should give you children." Nonetheless one does hear of un-
[847] married girls aborting by eating a lot of greasy chicken until they vomit, the stomach spasms sometimes having the desired effect.
[171] (Among the neighbouring Irula tribe a two-inch twig of swallow wort is reportedly placed in the vagina to bring about an abortion; Nambiar and Bharati 1965: 70).

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

fully with the partner. Some non-vegetarians do make a medicine for infertility from the eye of the crow-pheasant (*Centropus sinensis parroti*).

6.53. Badagas rarely offer *pu:ja* at a local temple nowadays in order to obtain children, but in the last century they often did so. Worship of the phallic *linga* symbol associated with Siva was considered very efficacious, particularly in those rare cases where it happened to be a prehistoric axe-head that had "miraculously appeared" in a field during ploughing. The Badaga ancestress deity Hette was also commonly resorted to for the same reason (Jagor 1876 : 199-200). Today it is usual for a couple with no children to make a pilgrimage to some important temple in the South Indian plains, where they make oaths to various gods, promising them goats, coconuts or idol ornaments once they have satisfied the supplicants' need for a child. It is no light matter for a man in an undivided joint family to take such an oath, because of the rules that it entails: in order to fulfil his promise after the birth of a child, the man must consult his family as to when that can be done. The problem is that (*a*) these oaths are normally fulfilled after a birth, but only on a festival day if they were taken in a *Badaga* temple: (*b*) they must not be fulfilled while *any* woman in the joint family is pregnant ; and yet (*c*) they must be fulfiled within twelve years of the requested birth. If this last rule is disregarded the offended god may visit another misfortune on the family; and so, even in a nuclear family, a man will try to discharge his obligation to the deity well before the twelve years following the birth, just in case his wife should happen to be pregnant again during the festivals of that final year. A further rule (*d*) is that if a man has promised the hair of his child to a deity, and if he waits for several years to make good his promise, then he must at the same time

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
615 of the Justice Party.
665

Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another factional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapaikas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Vīraśaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined, and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

177
582
(518)
(581)
(771)
578
798
(582)

S: Hocking E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
ANSO Badaga ANSO

578 hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the
798 two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

578 A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only con-
665 cerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

578 In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the
877 Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

578 Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one
•771 of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians
794 decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a
(793) church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk

578 together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests
771 judiciously refrain from doing so.
794
(793)

In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The
186 dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

181 In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60

000 dropping 3,080 feet in altitude to a powerhouse in the Mysore Ditch, together with a dammed reservoir and powerhouse in the Moyar River valley, are the main features of the last-mentioned scheme (Nambiar 1965: 26-27).

B I Ko Ku T 161 The five ethnic groups. In 1871, when the first controlled census was taken, the Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas formed about two-fifths of the population in the Nilgiri District (Hunter 1886, 10: 308). By 1961, however, the immigration of other people had lowered this fraction to about one-sixth (Nambiar 1965: 8, 10, 254). In the 1871-1961 period the following population changes took place among the five ethnic groups (Grigg et al. 1880: 30; Nambiar 1965: 8, 254):

Badagas: from over 15,000 to over 60,000 (estimated)[1]
Irulas: from 1,470 to 4,502
Kotas: from 1,112 to 832
Kurumbas: from 613 to 1,174
Todas: from 693 to 706

Ko 165 164 The decrease in the number of Kotas is partially attributable to a smallpox epidemic.

B 144 197 771 101 The racially Caucasoid Badagas speak Badagu, worship Lord Shiva, and form an agricultural Hindu caste; most of them dwell above 6,000 feet on the Nilgiri massif, but there are some who inhabit the Wynaad Plateau (Figure 2).[2] Caucasic-Australoid Irulas of the Nilgiri District speak a Tamil dialect, are devotees of Ranga, and form a partly Hinduized agricultural caste; they inhabit eastern Nilgiri slopes.

I 144 197 771 The Irulas of Coimbatore District and Kerala State, who apparently are descended from the same ancestral stock as the Nilgiri District Irulas, are not covered in this study.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 7 1

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 (175) Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so
234 goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hagotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bergani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

231 day, but only the most devout follow this practice now (Harkness 1832:
771 114-115). In January, shortly before goddess Masthi Hethai is honored
796 at Bergani, the Badagas celebrate Martu Pongal. Courtyards fronting
[351] houses are swept and freshly cowdunged. Women and children then decorate the courtyards with kitchen ash or powdered lime (Plate X, E). Before each house a square with diagonal lines is outlined. After the decorations have been completed, a priest leads a cow through the village from house to house. When the cow stops at each house, it is fed a flatcake made with millet, rice, or wheat and served on a platter placed in the center of the above-mentioned square (Plate X, F). Household women bow to the ground as the cow eats. After it has eaten and had its mouth washed off, the cow is led to the next house. Some time later a calf led around in the same fashion receives similar treatment at each house. Finally, community families feast upon flatcakes served with sugar or curry.

174 Hunting. Although writers have not referred to the Badagas as
241 hunters, there is some evidence that they were. Past practices are
796 probably preserved in more recent ritual. Among other acts connected
[174] with the opening of the main agricultural season at Melur, Francis (1908: 339) recorded that a hunting net was laid before a Badaga priest. After the priest had prayed for a favorable agricultural season, a pretense was made of spearing two fowls which had been thrown into the net, and it was then placed across a game path. A wild animal (sambar deer, if possible) driven into the net was slain, and Badagas
174 divided its carcass among themselves. In July, 1963, a few Badaga men
224